

PEACE NEWS

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THE QUEEN, NATO AND ROCKETS

She is used to give weapons a cloak of respectability

By ALAN LOVELL

TODAY, the Queen will open at the Westminster Hall a conference devoted to revaluing the function of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. This is just another of the Queen's routine engagements.

In the past year these engagements have included visits to hospitals, new towns, factories where rockets are manufactured, dinners with visiting dignitaries, and the inspection of military parades.

It all seems harmless enough. The Queen is the non-political Head of the State and, as such, she has certain duties to perform. If, however, we look rather more closely at the things the Queen does, we shall see that it is not all so harmless as it seems.

In the first place, the things to which the Queen gives her approval by her presence have a very different character. There is a great difference between a hospital which aims to heal people and a factory which manufactures rockets designed to kill millions of people, between World Refugee Year and NATO.

Second, there is a difference in political acceptability. There are very few people in this country who object to the work hospitals are doing. According to recent public opinion polls something like 25 per cent of the people of this country are opposed to rocket bases and, in theory, one of our two main political parties is opposed to the setting up of such bases.

Non-political approval

Visits from the Queen help to blur these distinctions. In each case the non-political head of the state gives approval to the work that is being done and makes it appear to be something that we all approve of.

And we should remember the context in which this happens. The Queen is a young woman with two attractive children and a presentable husband. The whole propaganda machinery of the State, Press, Radio and Television, never misses an opportunity

to point out these facts. We are constantly being told that the Queen and her family are symbols of all the domestic virtues; just ordinary people like you and me, but with a touch of magic about them.

Smoke screens

The visit of the Queen to a factory or institution associates that place with these virtues. The impression is created that such places must be acceptable if the young Queen with those lovely children visits them. In this way, rocket factories are associated with the Queen's virtues and not with their potentiality of killing millions of people.

The Queen's visits are also always made as ceremonial as possible. The red carpet is put down, the flags are run up and the uniforms put on. Again we are led to associate the place with the colour and pageantry of ceremonial and not with its own intrinsic qualities.

This is the traditional way that British society works. Unpleasant things like armies and rockets are made to seem acceptable by association with pleasant things like ceremonial and pageantry. Along with the Monarchy, the House of Lords is another obvious example. Its long traditions and its ceremonial side are emphasised, while behind this smoke screen it safely pursues its reactionary way, obstructing the abolition of hanging and other enlightened measures.

It should be remembered that the Monarchy has always been closely associated with the military machine. The Monarch came into existence as a kind of super commander-in-chief of the army and it is only in the last hundred years or so that this close connection with the military has started to break down. Even now the Queen and the other members of the Royal family are traditionally associated with certain army regiments and perhaps the most characteristic Royal sight is the Queen taking a parade of the Brigade of Guards.

Queen's function

The Monarchy is in many ways an anachronism from a society that has long since passed. It is surely wrong that in a democratic society the supposedly non-political Head of State should be used to blur political distinctions and create misleading impressions. Lord Altringham is obviously right when he says that we need a new conception of the function of the Head of the State, a conception that is more in keeping with the kind of society we aim to be.

In saying all this we do not mean to say anything about the Queen personally. Because of her background and training she has virtually no choice about her activities. Indeed, one of the most nauseating things about the whole business is the way a human being is used to fulfil a role that demands super-human qualities. Who would want to meet all those people, travel all those distances, make all those speeches and at the same time keep up an interested friendly appearance? For the Queen personally we have nothing but sympathy.



The Stevenage visit in April. Above: At the English Electric factory—the Queen meets the rockets. Below: At a New Town home—the Queen meets the citizens.



Fall-out: county council revolts

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

WILTSHIRE (S.W. England) COUNTY COUNCIL is prepared to watch radiation hazards in the county as part of its public health duties and has firmly stated that this duty should devolve on the county authorities rather than be left to the Government in London.

Other county councils are to be asked to support the view that they should become responsible for the "detection of radiological hazards in their areas, and that they should carry out such monitoring, sampling and examination of samples as they consider appropriate."

In a report to the Council the Medical Officer, Dr. C. D. L. Lycett, disclosed that officers had been refused details of industrial users of radio-active materials within their areas although such users were known to the Ministry concerned.

Objections from the Ministry to local authorities undertaking the detection of radiation hazards seemed unconvincing, he reported.

A long extract from his report appeared in the Salisbury Times on May 29 where it was stated that Bristol City Council is to

be asked to help Wiltshire obtain the use of laboratory facilities and the advice of a nuclear physicist when required in the event of the county deciding to carry out monitoring and sampling.

In an editorial the Salisbury Times points out that "differences between local authorities and Ministries are becoming acute," and adds:

"All sections of the public will note this changed policy of the County Council with deep satisfaction. For despite bland assurances from the Government that nuclear tests during the past ten years have caused only an insignificant increase in the amount of radiation as a result of the fall-out, there is widespread and, in our opinion, justified disquiet."

One of the reasons given for the Council's action was that a breakdown in safety precautions might become apparent in children as a result of the genetic effects and through an increase in the incidence of such deadly diseases as leukaemia.

"Dependence upon information supplied by ministries and other bodies would hamper the medical officer of health in protecting the public, and there is nothing to guarantee that it would be the exact information needed for a particular local investigation," Dr. Lycett told the County Council when it met last week.

**ALEX COMFORT REVIEWS
MICHAEL TIPPETT'S
NEW BOOK:**

**MOVING INTO
AQUARIUS**

Moving into Aquarius, by Michael Tippett. Routledge, 18s.

AS a musician my sharpest sense is that of sound": this is Tippett's first sentence—it might be taken to epitomise the profound intellectual and artistic problem with which his essays deal: "problem," that is, in the sense of a difficulty to be resolved, not in its more current meaning of a situation to which one is emotionally unequal.

How far Tippett is equal to his particular problem only his musical work can indicate—he is remarkably well equipped for it, both in seriousness and in scholarship, and he has here succeeded in a manner quite unusual among musicians in stating it verbally, together with some extremely acute criticism.

The fact that he can do this, and even the excellent quality of his prose in dealing with topics like aesthetics and psychology which commonly evoke jargon, are really part of the substance of the problem—that of a musician whose sharpest sense is sound, but whose habit of mind is conceptual. Tippett is deeply concerned over the whole problem of artistic communication. What he wants to communicate is the sense of significance in experience which he calls "transcendence," and which from his remarks about it I read as something resembling imaginative joy.

far he has adopted the method which Wagner used with success, of being his own librettist and imparting the content in words or in sung drama. This requires a considerable order of literary ability. Too much Yeatsian mythology would be destructive to anyone with less, as, at times, it almost was to Yeats himself.

There are others—liturgical music has content because it fits a ritual situation; but "relativistic" modern culture offers Tippett no opportunities for this which he cares to take—"give me a Christian congregation with a taste for clear, strong modern music and I will provide it." The situations in modern society which replace ritual he obviously finds antipathetic. Or it is possible by an effort to inject symbolism directly into music—only Schoenberg has ever really attempted this; Tippett very acutely pairs him with Freud, as against Jung and Stravinsky, his own preferences—for Freud shared Schoenberg's numerological obsessions, which make up the symbolic content of his music.

Society is one obstacle to his intention, by withholding the kind of audience he wants and by depriving his work of social context; he obviously longs, as most artists who are not fakes long, for a sense of solidarity in his hearers, a sense of their willingness to join in the game he wishes to show them. Another obstacle, which is very evident in these essays, and of which I feel certain he is fully aware, is the disparity between the art he has chosen, and which has chosen him, and some of the elements in his own approach.

The art of music unsupported by words, action or context is, as Tippett says, relatively new. It has unique powers of communicating empathy without symbolism. Poetry and painting both make their effects by combining explicit meaning, form and unconscious allusion—music does it by exploiting the human response to rhythms and sound patterns which nobody has so far succeeded in relating to any concrete unconscious imagery. Yet it is precisely this concrete imagery which preoccupies Tippett, and through which, from what he says here, much of his musical thinking seems to pass.

His preference for Jung I can understand—it goes with his personality: in his essay considering a book on the Freudian analysis of art he says so little of the interpretation offered there that I suspect he was overcome by his resistance, if not to reading, then to remembering it. Freud's biological interpretation of symbolism seems to me to unite Jung's archetypes as a glove unites the individual fingers; there is a similar resistance in Tippett's estimate of "materialistic" science generally, as being against the Tao; and perhaps, in spite of the humanity of his music, his fellowmen. His wish for sociality, participation, implies that they must participate on his terms, and if many of them came in the front door I feel certain he would be out at the back. Music while you work, distortion and mechanisation affect him less as a battlefield for the artist than as a real battle might do—a prospect of waste and injury.

The book says little about pacifism, but it is impossible to imagine an artist of this stamp assenting to war without destroying himself, or a man of Tippett's transparent integrity merely avoiding such things by concentration on his work. His solution has been wholly honourable—he has both adopted a public attitude and made his work speak naturally for him; there have been few stronger musical protests against inhumanity in any language than "A Child of our Time."

There must be many composers who have written about themselves and their work: many of them, if not most, have been informative not because of insight but because they gave themselves away. Berlioz's diaries are instructive because they are naive: Tippett's essays are instructive because they are genuinely candid, both



MICHAEL TIPPETT

about his artistic motives and about his own self-estimate, which is strikingly level-headed. They throw most light forward, on his future work. The musical development of his intentions is likely to stand up without prior explanation, but it will be easier to follow sympathetically because of his book.

Tippett so clearly knows what he is doing that comment, especially from non-musicians, approaches impertinence: if I cannot resist siding with Kokoschka in his defence of the reality-principle, and pointing to the possible frustration of art which attempts to work from archetypal symbols outward, instead of inwards from reality toward them, this is the fault of Tippett's intelligent defence of his own ideas. There has been no more likeable book on artistic communication for years.

Quotes

"IN MAJOR ISSUES of policy it is increasingly difficult for an individual to act as a Member of Parliament instead of just a member of a political party. Decisions on such policies are taken, not on the floor of the House, not even in private party meetings upstairs but, increasingly, by a cabal of three or four leaders, who present their view for endorsement and can rely on almost automatic support from a majority. Thereafter any minority is expected to keep public silence out of loyalty to the party—'you wouldn't be an MP at all, old boy, if it wasn't for the party'—so that an individual's chance of saying in the House what he or his constituents really think on important policy is severely constrained. In view of the pressures, it is not surprising that most individuals give up trying."—J. P. W. Mallalieu (*New Statesman*, April 25.)

"NO PERSONAL HABIT more surely degrades the conscience and the intellect than blind and unhesitating obedience to unlimited authority."—T. H. Huxley, quoted by Harold Nicolson (*The Observer*, April 26.)

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This is not quite the situation of the "literary" painter—but it means that the "new" music of the modern orchestra or soloist, addressed to an audience of separate individuals who happen to be in one place, and unsupported by conceptual meaning, words, dances or action is not a fully satisfactory medium for Tippett's personal and sensitive social mysticism. All the essays, unless I much mistake them, turn really on his examination of what he wishes to transmit and upon methods of transmitting it—though not, curiously enough, of the audience: they are the only stage of the process that he has not quite managed to define.

We have already heard some of the solutions which he has evolved—cantata-writing and his "Midsummer Marriage" among them. The essays are a direct commentary on these experiments or rather achievements—there is nothing tentative about Tippett's musicianship, and his refusal to make prestige by talking musicology in this book should not make us underrate his technical accomplishments.

His problem is not by any means unique—it is, essentially, that in addition to thinking music he thinks naturally in symbolic ideas which owe their significance to content and are the material of poetry. So

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Training in non-violence

ONE of the most ambitious programmes ever devised in the West in the field of non-violence has recently been announced in the USA.

It is a three-week Training Programme in the theory and application of non-violence, to be held this summer from August 16 to September 5 inclusive at the former Manumit School, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

The following list of some members of the faculty gives some idea of the value of the programme: Amiya Chakravarty, Dorothy Day, Dave Dellinger, Harold Feinstein, Roy Finch, Paul Goodman, Gerald Landry, Bradford Lytle, Pat McMahon, Wallace Nelson, Theodore Olson, Bayard Rustin, Robert Stowell, Robert Swann, Ralph Templer, Al Uhrig, and Paul and Vera Williams.

The first week will be devoted to study of the lives of six "great practitioners of non-violence": Jesus, Tolstoy, Garrison, Thoreau, Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave.

The second week will deal with "specific contemporary problems and projects": problems of the city, decentralisation, the struggle for integration, anti-war activities, economic sharing, intentional communities, productive work, and the relationship of art to non-violence.

The final week will be open only to those who have attended some of the preparatory sessions. It will be devoted to experiments in the anti-war and integration fields.

The programme is sponsored by Peacemakers and International Voluntary Service. Several foreign students associated with IVS will participate. Further information can be had from: Al Uhrig, Box A, Glen Gardner, New Jersey.

There are a few members of Peace News' staff in London who would give their hands to attend.

Stifled news

PN's main front page story last week gave details of the way the Government bodies in the United States misled the public or withheld information from it.

The latest issue of the American monthly Liberation shows that government bodies are not the only ones who have misled the public by withholding information. Even the Press has helped. An article in the New York Times of March 19 described how a series of tests called Project Argus had been rushed through last year to beat the deadline for the voluntary one year cessation of tests that Washington had announced. The Times report continued that it had learned "of the plans for Project Argus last summer some weeks before it took place. The information was obtained without limitation on its use. Nevertheless, scientists associated with the Government said that they feared that prior announcement of the experiment might lead to protests that would force its cancellation."

When A. J. Muste, one of the editors of Liberation, wrote to the Times pointing out the danger of a newspaper supporting the Government by withholding such information, the Times did not publish his letter, and the assistant managing editor informed him that the New York Times stood by what it had done.

Instead he received a letter from the Assistant Managing Editor who said: 1, the Times had no prior information of the test series; 2, the Times should not go against the wishes of responsible Defence Department officials.

A. J. Muste then 'phoned the Assistant Managing Editor and pointed out that the original article in the Times had said that the Times did have prior information of Project Argus. The Assistant Managing Editor admitted that he had been wrong in his letter, but added that this did not alter the basic situation.

The Liberation editor than asked if the Times would publish his letter, and he was told that it would be forwarded to the letters department. A little later he received a letter from the letters editor which

said: "I am sorry that it is not possible to publish your communication at this late date. As no doubt you are aware, we published four letters protesting Project Argus at the time the news broke."

None of the four letters referred to had anything to do with the Times' handling of the Argus story.

See "In Perspective," page 4.



Great interest was stimulated by posters and an imitation rocket when ten members of the Dusseldorf War Resisters' Group staged a two-day vigil in one of their city squares recently.

Dishonest John

HOW dishonest can the military get? Dr. Lore Frobenius, PN correspondent in Frankfurt, has sent on to London a report from the nearby small university town of Giessen, where a German rocket unit has been installed for some weeks.

BASIL DELAINE'S SOUTH AFRICAN COMMENTARY

Revolt against Apartheid

JOHANNESBURG.

LET'S get it straight—for the benefit of South African Government snoopers who might read this commentary before it reaches Peace News:

I am not anti-white. I am anti-injustice.

In this Beloved Country—a country which gets more brutal in its handling of non-whites with every passing day—it is white men of the worst type who rule.

For make no mistake about it. The Nationalist Party Government comprises the most ruthless collection of intellectual thugs since Hitler gathered around him those mentally-unbalanced jackbooted administrators of the 1930s.

Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd and key Cabinet men like Minister of Justice C. R. Swart, and Minister of Bantu Administration De Wet Nel, have but one aim in mind—to prevent people of coloured skin from enjoying the freedom which men the world over consider their natural right.

That the politicians are successful is due, of course, to the support they get from fellow Nationalists.

But there is always a limit to what fair-minded intelligent men will do for a party.

And I predict that in sinister South Africa that limit will soon be reached by hundreds of erstwhile loyal "Nats."

Only a few weeks ago Prof. L. J. du Plessis said some uncomplimentary things about Verwoerd's racial policy, and was promptly kicked out of the Party.

The professor was a high ranking Nationalist.

Now come a few more home truths from another Nationalist intellectual.

Prof. H. J. "Hennie" Coetzee, according to the Johannesburg "Sunday Times," attacked Government apartheid actions and called for official co-operation with the African National Congress!

The professor's most pertinent comment: "Time is running out. Both Nationalists and the United (Opposition) Party must stop putting party interests before the interests of the nation."

Since then the white Press has carried at least half a dozen letters from members of the Nationalist Party condemning the harsh racial policies of their Government.

The other day a Johannesburg attorney, Mr. Joel Carlson, accompanied a police

The report, by Dieter Haarman, makes incredible reading. Giessen is the home of the first US "Honest John" type missiles for the German army, so the authorities thought it appropriate to put a rocket on display during "German-American Friendship Week."

The Mayor of Giessen, Albert Osswald (he was at the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's European Congress in London last January) tried to get the exhibit withdrawn, because the municipality were still having negotiations with the Defence Ministry about the final stationing of "this provocation."

The Giessen Committee against Nuclear Armament decided to hold a protest meeting some distance from the exhibition, and the police and US forces were quite normally informed.

The US commanding officer, Colonel Werp, three times promised he would turn off the exhibition's loudspeakers during the protest. But on the actual day three US aircraft roared very low over the heads of the demonstrators, and US Captain Roberts installed a loud-speaker immediately above the crowd to drown everything in martial music.

During hasty negotiations the US top brass said that if they stopped the din they would also have to withdraw the entire exhibition. They were soon forced to do just that, when to their embarrassment their package plan was accepted.

"What use is a promise from our allies?" was the bitter remark heard as German-American Friendship Week came rapidly to a close.

-Phyz

WANTED: MORE HUMAN HOARDINGS!

WITH the Hon. Treasurer of our Peace News Fund, Clare Annesley, I went to Wimbledon recently and joined the picket outside the public library, organised by our readers in that borough to draw attention to the fact that Peace News is banned from the reading room. By the time we left—at 3.30—50 copies of the paper had been sold, and more were sold after we had gone. Hundreds of people in this crowded street stopped to read our posters, and many spoke to us, airing their views on the issues of peace and war and nuclear weapons.

Once again it was forced home on me what an important part of our work it is to stand out on the streets with a Peace News' poster and copies of the paper.

Even if buyers are not so easily found as they are in Wimbledon, there is much to be said for being a human hoarding and drawing people's attention to the existence of a peace movement in their area.

We need more human hoardings. Try it at a nearby railway or bus station and see for yourself. We will gladly send a poster and supplies on receipt of your name and address. The wording of some of the available posters is shown below (one is also available with a blank space on which you can write your own words if you wish to do so).

"NO H-BOMBS FOR BRITAIN."

"AGAINST ALL WARS ALWAYS."

"H-BOMBS OR SANITY?"

"READ THE PACIFIST POINT OF VIEW."

"CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT."

"ONLY NEW WAYS CAN AVERT NEW WARS."

"SEE BOTH SIDES OF WORLD QUESTIONS."

We supply the posters free of charge to our street sellers. They are one of the expenses which the PN Fund helps us to meet. We need over £2,000 by the end of the year.

Contributions since May 22: £16 10s. 4d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £417 16s. 11d.

Still needed: £2,082.

Anonymous contributions grateful acknowledged: "Hollywood" 2s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Outstanding Unitarian

THE death, on Whit Sunday, of the Rev. Will Hayes brings to an end the work of an outstanding Unitarian who said "I became a minister because I wanted to preach pacifism." It was he who inspired the Pacifist Universalist Services organised by the Religion Commission of the PPU.

A man of many activities, he campaigned for Indian freedom with the "Friends of India," lectured on his native Lakeland and adopted county, Kent, and produced many books on comparative religion. His young manhood's dream of a church which should acknowledge all the religions was realised in the founding of the "Order of the Great Companions." In the early 1930s he succeeded Dr. Walter Walsh as leader of the "Free Religious Movement." His church at Chatham became the "Church of the Great Companions" where Krishna, Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tse, Zoroaster, Jesus, Mohammed and others are venerated as Way-Showers on the roads, by different pathways, to the same reality.

His own teachers were the whole of nature, Walt Whitman, Thoreau, St. Augustine, Kahlil Gibran but his deepest devotion was always to the Mother-God.

His work will be continued by Inge Hyde who is in charge of the Chatham Church and who nursed him self-sacrificingly during his last illness.

Memorial cards, with a photograph, may be obtained from Inge Hyde, Coldrum House, 28 Horsted Way, Rochester, Kent.

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THE REAL ISSUES

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT regretted "very much" the death of John Foster Dulles. When the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Anastas Mikoyan, told correspondents this is Moscow last week, he described the former American Secretary of State as a "dedicated and very great statesman."

What is the explanation for this extraordinary tribute? Is it just one of the niceties of diplomatic procedure?

For example, when he was in Russia recently Mr. Macmillan, according to his watchdog Mr. Emrys Hughes, M.P., was lavish in his praise of the Soviet seven-year plan. Emrys Hughes recounted in the House of Commons that the British Prime Minister "used extravagant language about it which hon. Members opposite would have laughed at if I had used such language in a speech in this House."

Is Mr. Mikoyan's praise for Mr. Dulles' statesmanship a formal gesture similar to Mr. Macmillan's admiration for the progress of a planned economy?

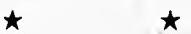
It is very likely, of course, that Mr. Khrushchov is determined that Russia must not be blamed for any breakdown at the Foreign Ministers' talks at Geneva. He has doubtless ordered, therefore, that all his lieutenants must be on their very best behaviour, causing offence to no one. This is an immediate possible explanation for Mr. Mikoyan's tribute.



ANOTHER POSSIBLE EXPLANATION is much more frightening. Mr. Mikoyan's words could be a frank recognition of a fundamental truth: that Mr. Dulles shared many of the basic assumptions of the Kremlin.

- He was willing to develop the arms race without limitation.
- He took extraordinarily dangerous risks in a world at explosive pitch.
- He clothed his actions in the language of moral righteousness.
- He saw no future for the world without somehow the "enemy" power bloc disintegrating.
- He was willing to use men and countries as pawns in the struggle for world supremacy.
- He took for granted that men are the obedient servants of the military State, acquiescing in the most inhuman policies.
- He regarded helping the starving, the homeless and the sick as of no importance compared with the arms race.

These assumptions are not "great statesmanship" whether pursued by Washington or Moscow. They merely show that behind the conflict with which the politicians and top brass endlessly concern themselves lies a common blindness, a bond of inhumanity.



THE FIRST ESSENTIAL today is to make the real issues clear. Bertrand Russell has told us that by the end of the century it is at least as likely as not that no Britons will be alive. But this is never presented as an issue by those whose only determination is to continue war preparations.

The majority of people in the world are still living below the subsistence level. Everywhere civil liberties are collapsing in the face of military demands. No Power dares look forward beyond a very few years, because in policy it is living from hand to mouth. Men are being forced to become inhuman or apathetic by the development of militarism.

These are the real issues today, and they cannot be presented by support for the "great statesmen" of the cold war.

Rockets and talks?

THE West is to build rocket bases in Greece and Italy. In reply Mr. Khrushchov has threatened to build rocket bases in Albania. This is another example of the rule that guides all war preparations: "Anything you can do I can do better."

But it means that the cold war becomes that much more dangerous. Now forces armed with the latest weapons face each other directly not only in Europe but also in the Baltic. And since Greece, Italy and Albania are not very rich economically, the rocket bases will be welcomed by their people as a new way of earning a living. So the Cold War is built into the economic framework of three more countries.

The whole process is absurd enough, but it becomes the more absurd when we realise that at the same time as this is happening, the Foreign Ministers of the Great Powers are trying to find ways of easing international tension. The Great Powers are no doubt sincere in their efforts at Geneva. But how seriously can we take these efforts when their other actions show that the old assumptions about the hostility of the other side are still as strong as ever?

We should guess that, given the present situation, it is more likely that rocket bases will be built in Albania than that there will be a worthwhile agreement at Geneva.

Singapore

FIDEL CASTRO was very dependent on the support of certain sugar magnates for the success of his revolution in Cuba. As a result he has to soft pedal the demands of the sugar workers (see the May issue of Liberation for a description of Castro's meeting with the sugar workers).

The success of Castro's revolution will depend very much on how soon he is able to free himself from the sugar magnates. If he is not able to do this in the very near future, the Cuban sugar workers, who make up a sizeable proportion of the Cuban population, are likely to become disillusioned. This is in part the result of the violent methods that Castro used to overthrow the old régime. Arms cost money and money usually has strings attached to it.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew faces a somewhat similar problem in Singapore. He has won an overwhelming victory in the elections that were held last Sunday. But his freedom to act will be limited in several ways. The economic prosperity of the island is dependent on the confidence of the businessmen who control most of the economy. Mr. Lee will have to be very careful not to upset them. If he does, and if at the same time he upsets the economic balance of the island, his election victory will also be in jeopardy.

Mr. Lee is also limited by the British bases on the island. For the moment they are useful to him in that they provide work for the people of Singapore. But in the future they may limit Singapore's independence a great deal.

These are only some of the problems that Mr. Lee faces. He has a difficult problem on his hands, and though like Castro he has won a famous victory, its value will only become apparent in the future.

The news . . .

ON the policies that The Times advocates we are, of course, mostly in strong disagreement, and we regard as deplorable such influence as it may be exercising on the public sense of moral values by its execrable "Top People" advertising. Nevertheless, we regard it as a remarkably fine newspaper, and we have a certain sympathy with it in the face of some of the criticisms it has to meet concerning its treatment of public meetings.

The treatment of public meetings by the Press today is very different as compared with a quarter of a century ago, and in our view this has become necessary and even desirable. The subjects that make news today have multiplied and have become of greater complexity, and there are much better ways of fostering thought upon them than devoting a lot of space to the inevitably repetitive presentations that occur at public meetings.

Nevertheless, it seems to us that the Editor of The Times will have to think again about the way his staff is treating public meetings. Replying to the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster, The Times justifies its complete ignoring of the crowded Albert Hall meeting organised by Christian Action and the Society of Friends' Peace Committee on May 25 on the grounds that it provided nothing new or significant.

We should have thought that the fact that the Dean of Berlin was addressing that meeting was at least as significant as anything that occurs at the week-end political meetings for which The Times can find space; and his comment that "We who have been in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps believe we have more right to speak than Germans who remained either silent or Hitler's faithful minions" is becoming increas-

ingly necessary of consideration by the allies of Dr. Adenauer's Government.

The Times has already admitted that it made a mistake in completely ignoring the great meetings with which the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was launched. Despite the plea it makes in justification of its disregard of the Albert Hall meeting, it seems to us that it is permitting a policy bias to influence its news presentation in this matter and that it owes it to its fine reputation to try to put this bias aside.

... that never was

THE TIMES is not the only newspaper that is guilty of suppressing news. Two news stories that we publish in this issue show that other papers are doing the same. In "People and Places" Phyz reports how the New York Times deliberately withheld news about a series of nuclear tests, which the American Government was going to hold, to avoid a public protest which might have prevented them from taking place. On page eight Francis Deutsch reports that newspapers are refusing to publish the names of rocket bases that are being picketed by the Yorkshire campaign.

There was a time when newspapers considered criticism of the Government and publication of information about the Government's activities as one of their chief functions. It seems that this function has now been amended to support of the Government and the suppression of information.

Governments have encouraged newspapers to behave in this way by making "inside" information available only to newspapers which are friendly to them. There was an example of this recently when Sam Russell, the London Daily Worker correspondent at the Geneva meeting of Foreign Ministers, was excluded from a British news briefing at Geneva.

This conspiracy of silence on the part of the Press and Government, particularly in the fields of foreign policy and nuclear weapons, is very sinister, and we should all protest very strongly about it. We are glad to see that in Britain the National Union of Journalists is to take up Sam Russell's case with the Foreign Office.

Labour's tests

ON April 27 Mr. Aneurin Bevan said in the House of Commons that the British Labour Party on coming to power would stop all nuclear tests. We made no comment at the time because it seemed to us then that this was no change of Party policy. Mr. Bevan had not made it clear whether by "stop" he meant "suspend" or "renounce for all time."

In the same debate Mrs. Barbara Castle also declined to clarify the matter when questioned closely by Mr. W. Yates, Labour MP Mr. Desmond Donnelly, however, gave a clear interpretation of Mr. Bevan's words to Sir John Smyth: "If the hon. and gallant Member thinks unilateral suspension of tests is unilateral renunciation of the hydrogen bomb by the back door, I urge him to study more closely what my right hon. Friend had to say."

"This is a unilateral renunciation for a period and not for all time," continued Mr. Donnelly.

"Any responsible British Government which decided as a matter of policy to retain the hydrogen bomb, if there was no agreement about suspension of tests, after a period of time would obviously, very regrettably, have to reconsider its attitude." Mr. Kenneth Pickthorn asked for an explanation from the Labour Front Bench on whether Mr. Bevan had meant what Mr. Donnelly said. There was no reply.

Mr. Frank Allaun now recalls (page five) Mr. Bevan's remarks, and interpreting them as a timeless pledge, takes hope. Frank Allaun may be right, but we are not yet convinced. As Frank Allaun reminds us, Mr. Bevan was interviewed on TV shortly after the Commons debate and announced that, on the question of whether Labour policy was for suspending or stopping tests, "this is a distinction without a difference"!

Since then Mr. Gaitskell has spoken (Forward, May 29). The Party leader said: "We in the Labour Party, as evidence of our good faith, reaffirm the pledge we have given before that if we are returned to power, we shall immediately suspend tests" (our italics).

There is clearly confusion on this issue, and from it we draw the following moral: If the Labour Party cannot make its election promises unequivocal on the important but peripheral subject of nuclear testing, it is a mistake to have great hope of it implementing measures of unilateral nuclear disarmament when in power.

'I DON'T LIKE STAYING AT THIS HOTEL'

I INTENDED to give a report of the Cairo and Tunis conferences—the meeting of the Permanent Committee of the anti-colonial movement of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in Cairo and of the Tunis meeting of the Permanent Committee of the Accra All-Africa People's Congress. But I am compelled to write to you before the proceedings of either have begun. I am sitting in the lounge of the fantastic Nile Hilton Hotel, Cairo, the most luxurious I've ever entered, whilst the delegates foregather.

I've just been introduced to a delegate from Algeria. Next to me on this settee are an Italian Socialist MP and a leading member of the Workers' Alliance in Yugoslavia. Our hosts are the Baath Socialist Party of the United Arab Republic. Floating around are delegates from Greece, Syria and other countries of this region.

Let me get something off my chest. I don't like staying at this hotel. I quote how it describes itself:

"Jewel of Egypt in a setting of modern luxury overlooking the ancient Pyramids. 400 air-conditioned rooms, all with terraces. Fabulous restaurants including the Starlight Roof for romantic outdoor dining, dancing."

The Egyptians are so proud of the Nile Hilton that they have issued a special postage stamp with its picture. One looks through the glass wall at one side of this vast lounge (as large as a football ground) on to the sky-scrappers which are modern Cairo, and through the glass wall the other side on to the Nile, banked by palms and a promenade.

My single bed-room and bathroom upstairs are larger than the entire homes of most people in Egypt, larger than the homes of thousands of families in England.

I will try to rationalise my instinctive disquiet at being here. First, it is purely practical. Heaven knows how much it will cost the Baath Socialists for us to stay here. They are a Government party and can afford it. But how many movements for colonial freedom need funds, and how usefully they could use for the Cause the cost of accommodating us in this luxury!

Then I am sharply aware of the contrast between this glamorous comfort and the wretched poverty which is in Egypt. As I have been driven through the streets of Cairo—from the airport; to the President's

Why omit this issue?

THE Congregational Pacifist Fellowship is to enlarge its Central Committee. Among those to be co-opted are the Rev. Hampden Horne, Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall, M.A., and the Rev. Richard Wood, M.A.

In answer to a question from the Rev. Philip Eastman, secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, at the recent Congregational Union Assembly, it was stated that the report of the Union's Christian Citizenship Group contained no reference whatever to questions of peace and war.

Mr. Eastman expressed his amazement and asked had they omitted this because the moment was not thought to be opportune, or because they thought it too difficult, or because they were afraid of truth and divided opinion? It is anticipated that, as a result of his efforts, the Christian Citizenship Group will take up these matters.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

The Development Committee are anxious to obtain the help of further

Area Organisers

on a voluntary or part-time paid basis. Preference will be given to work in the North-East, East Anglia, Oxford and W. Midlands areas. The work includes making contact with new members, encouraging existing groups and helping to form new ones, assistance where desired with organisation, etc.

Applications are invited from members of the Peace Pledge Union and should be sent to the General Secretary, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, from whom further particulars can be obtained.

Palace; to the headquarters of the Egyptian-Asian solidarity committee, where our conference is meeting—I have looked not at buildings, but at people.

Let me be fair. There is not the visible poverty here which I have seen in many Arab and African towns. But to the workers in their long white shirts, the women in their black hooded robes, the brightly-dressed children sitting on doorsteps, the Nile Hilton Hotel would be another and incredible world.

And I think of other places in Egypt which I have visited, the dusty, ragged poverty of Luxor, the begging children with their blood-stained and erupting eyes. I feel sure that in the back streets of Cairo one would also find them. The luxury of the Nile Hilton is indecent by the side of this poverty.

Poverty and luxury

I recognise this is a matter of degree. Many of us live all our days under conditions of comfort which are in contrast with the poverty of millions. We may attend a function at Claridges or the Dorchester, other worlds from even British everyday life. We spend on tobacco money which could save the lives of many from disease.

These are problems which we must each resolve personally, seeking to balance the needs of our families and ourselves for a normal human life with the claims upon us of a surrounding distressed humanity. But there is a difference between that and, in our political activity for the same distressed humanity, acceptance of a luxury which adds neither to our efficiency nor to our happiness.

Poverty and luxury co-exist, of course, in every country. One must pay tribute to the Egyptian Government for what it is doing in land redistribution. The estates of Farouk's courtiers are being given to the people.

But the Nile Hilton Hotel has renewed my conviction that political freedoms—and these have not yet been fully attained in Egypt—are not enough. Human freedom requires an economic equality which no country has yet achieved.

We must speed the political revolution so that we can go forward to this social revolution. Socialism may have lost some of its economic urgency in Britain because of our emergence from the worst poverty; but Egypt has made me understand how Socialism is still the need of the world.

Egyptian neutrality

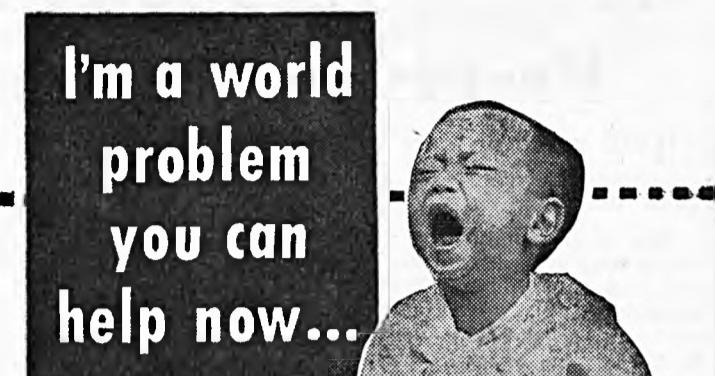
I am finishing this letter during the opening plenary session of the Cairo meeting. Fifty people of many races, European, Asian, Arab, African, line the tables. One immediate conviction I hasten to convey to you: Egypt is sincere in its declaration of neutrality between the two blocs. The most impressive speech at the time of writing has been delivered by Salah Abdel Hafez of the Baath Socialists. I conclude by this quotation from him:

"We import factories and machines from West and East, but we do not import principles or systems. We stand for positive neutrality and non-alignment. For nothing drives the world to war other than the domination of the big powers over the small countries and the making of these small countries a field of battle, which threatens them with destruction and makes of their people human fuel for the wars. If the small countries were to adopt positive neutrality the big powers would think twice before embarking upon the path of war."

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Non-violence in Notting Hill

A NON-VIOLENT group has been established to meet the increase in racial tension in Notting Hill. It is considering what action can be taken, and offering its services in social work. Those interested should contact Tony Smythe, Basement flat, 25 Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9.



Hunger and sickness cannot wait for the world solutions refugees need. Someone must come to the rescue quickly to save the under-nourished children and to rescue those who need help in places like Algeria and the Near East, Hong Kong and Korea.

Will you send your special gift this World Refugee Year to help a refugee who would otherwise go without? Please send now to: Pax Relief, Barclays Bank Ltd., Old Bank, High Street, Oxford.

Suggestions for people of goodwill

1. 10s. provides 48 good meals for orphans.
2. Make a special effort to raise funds which will enable us to re-settle a "hard core" refugee family in a new life.
3. Help train a refugee to be self-supporting. For 30s. you can support a young refugee for a week while he is being trained.
4. Send any good discarded clothing to Pax Relief, Oxfam, c/o Davies Turner & Co., 50a Bourne Street, London, S.W.1.



Supporters Include: Vera Brittain, The Very Rev. George F. MacLeod, Dame Sybil Thorndike.

OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR FAMINE RELIEF

Labour is moving on the H-bomb

From Frank Allaun, MP

LABOUR is moving further along the road in the direction of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Aneurin Bevan, speaking in Parliament last month, said—with great deliberation: "If our Party is returned to power we shall stop all hydrogen bomb and atom bomb tests at once, and we shall not be influenced by the technical or political situation that we shall find when we assume office.

"It is a solemn undertaking from which we shall not flinch."

Previously Labour had stated it would suspend tests unilaterally. Some of us wondered if this meant a change. The answer is: yes, it does. My evidence is the TV interview with Nye a few days later:

Clark: There's also been the criticism that you've not been quite clear; and that you're moving between two points. Are you going to stop or suspend the tests?

Bevan: I think this is a distinction without a difference. We shall stop. And I can conceive of no circumstances in which we should want to renew them.

Clark: So it would be a pledge to stop?

Bevan: A pledge to stop.

Clark: What is the difference between that and the present Conservative position, which is that they have just stopped?

Bevan: Well, I understand that they've stopped because the conference is still on; and, of course, there are no controls yet, are there?

While we in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament go further and seek the unilateral stopping of manufacture as well as testing of H-bombs I think it would be daft not to recognise this is a big step forward.

It also answers those who say there is no difference between the two big political Parties on the issue.

I believe that this move is largely the result of pressure by the Campaign and by active members of the Labour Party and trade unions. It confirms my view that in these organisations (which, though big, are basically democratic) if a sufficient

number of members want a thing badly and determinedly enough they can get it.

The British working class—because it is organised in the trade union and Labour movement—possesses great power. When the Campaign policy becomes their policy we'll be well on the road to achieving our aim.

So keep on with the struggle. You are being more successful than you realise.

See "In Perspective," page four.

S. Africa's prison gateway

From Basil Delaine

Johannesburg.

A POLITICAL concentration camp for Africans and Coloureds who do not toe the South African Government political line is planned for Robben Island, the gateway to the Union.

Minister of Justice Mr. C. R. Swart announced in Parliament recently that this small isle—a hide-out for centuries of pirates who looted ships around the Cape—was to become "an important link in our new penal system."

Since then it is learned from a reliable source that Robben Island will become a "Devil's Island" for non-white leaders who are deemed by the South African Government to be "agitators and undesirables."

New fleet of armour

THE South African Police—notorious for their "big stick" methods—plan to buy 80 Saracen armoured personnel carriers, a big enough fleet of armour to deal with a full-scale revolution.

The Saracen—the West's latest and most powerfully protected personnel carrier—is equipped with smoke bomb throwers and slits in its armour through which rifles or machine-guns can be used. It was designed to move an infantry section in close support of tanks and armoured cars.

According to Minister of Justice Mr. Swart, the carriers are for "internal security operations."

MISSILES AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Profits for the merchants of death

THIS missile industry is rocketing—in sales, earnings and on the stock market."

This is the apt opening sentence of a recent story by Richard Rutter in the financial section of the New York Times. But, appearing in the Times, which is considered an "egghead" newspaper and being buried in the financial section, the story's significant facts and figures gained little public attention.

However, they clearly show how missiles have become one of the biggest sources of profit for our present-day "merchants of death."

Government spending for missile production in the present fiscal year will total about \$3,400,000,000. Military spending for research alone accounts for \$500,000,000 of this sum. For the next fiscal year government missile expenditures are expected to reach \$4,000,000,000. On top of this is private industry's own huge investment in research testing and development.

Recipients of the missile bonanza include the biggest aircraft, electronics and chemical corporations. As Rutter expressed it in his Times article: "The companies involved in missile and rocket work read almost like a directory of American big business."

In the aircraft field there are Boeing, Douglas, North American and many others. The electronics field is represented by Raytheon, General Dynamics, Philco, to name only a few. Thiokol, Stausser, American Potash & Chemical, Olson Mathieson and

others are making fuels that launch the missiles.

The extent of the missile bonanza is indicated in stock market reports on some of the corporations involved. Thiokol, for instance, reached a 1958-59 high 230 per cent above its lowest point. A single contract with the Air Force, slated to be signed soon, will more than double the company's 1957 sales of \$30,947,457. General Tyre's stock price this year is 207.



LETTER FROM AMERICA

By JIM PECK

per cent above its lowest point and Raytheon 221 per cent. So goes the missile boom.

But there is another kind of "boom" connected with missiles: an explosion "boom" that would destroy, at one clip, thousands of human lives, thousands of miles away.

The key rôle of missiles as weapons of mass destruction is played down by the press, radio and television. As a result, many Americans view missiles simply as vehicles for trips to the moon and romantic explorations into space.

Hence, the task of interpreting to the

public the forthcoming protest action at the Mead missile base in Omaha will be more difficult than interpreting the Nevada and "Golden Rule" projects, which were directed against nuclear bomb tests.

With this in mind, the sponsoring committee recently changed the Omaha project's name from "Non-violence Against Nuclear Missiles" to "Non-violence Against Nuclear Missile Policy." (My italics.)

Explaining this change, the committee stated: "The purpose of the project is not to influence a machine (the missile) but to change the spirit, ideas and policies which brought the missile into existence."

It is these policies—the same ones which now threaten the world with nuclear destruction—which must be exposed and opposed. But, to get Americans to see this is a difficult task. At Cheyenne last summer the tedious educational campaign preceding civil disobedience action at the missile base entrance was a complete failure. Practically no community support could be aroused for the protesting pacifists, who were generally regarded as menacing the financial prosperity which the missile bases had brought to Cheyenne.

It must be stated, however, that whereas Cheyenne is located in a remote, sparsely-populated area, Omaha is a centrally-located mid-western city. Therefore, the chances of getting at least some support in Omaha will be better than they were in Cheyenne.

However, to mobilise American opinion on the war missiles issue is even harder than on the nuclear tests issue.

THE PRICE OF RECOVERY

Labour finds it harder to win

By Sidney Lens

Sidney Lens is an American trade union official and an editor of the American monthly *Liberation*. His latest book, "The Crisis of American Labour" (\$6), has just been published by Sagamore Press (New York). It examines the present situation of the trade union movement in the United States.

AFTER a year of uncertainty and recession, the American economy is clearly on the mend.

Steel production, some of it a hedge against a steel strike, is double the rate of last year, when it fell for a time below 50 per cent of capacity. New housing starts are at the rate of 1.3 million a year, car production is around 500,000 new vehicles a month, and even employment is picking up. The April figures showed that joblessness was reduced by three-quarters of a

million from the month before, twice the normal seasonal improvement. As for profits, they promise to break through the sky; "Business Week" predicts that business will gross a cool \$55,000,000,000 in 1959, or almost \$10,000,000,000 more than the highest previous record.

For the third time since the war the economic ship seems to have righted itself after being caught on the shoals of recession. But recovery leaves behind it some unwelcome legacies.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Each time the nation has stabilised after an economic downturn it has been with a higher rate of "minimum unemployment." It is currently 5.3 per cent. In some cities, like Detroit, one of every seven members of the work force is out of work. Automation is taking its heavy toll. In February, 1957, there were 13.1 million production employees; two years later, though production was approximately the same, there were only 11.9 million factory hands. Approximately 1.2 million jobs had disappeared as if into a squall. And despite a 14 cent (one shilling) an hour rise in workers' earnings, industry was spending \$43 million less each week for its labourers.

The key American unions, those in the mass production industries, are losing members at an impressive rate. Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers' are down 400,000 from the peak reached four years ago, and the steel union, now in negotiations with the corporations, has lost 200,000 members into the whirlwind of technological change.

Even more distressing, both to labour and the nation, is the decline in union effectiveness as a result of the large reservoir of unemployed. "Labour," says "Business Week," "finds it harder to win." Strikes are meeting resistance more stubborn than at any time in the post-war era. At Henderson, North Carolina, textile strikers have been on the picket line for

more than six months but without visible effect. An injunction has crippled them, strike breakers are daily run through their lines, and National Guardsmen patrol the area against them. Even the powerful mine workers' union of John L. Lewis, which has suffered few setbacks in the last two decades, has been unable to bring to book 200 colliery owners in eastern Kentucky. A 134-day strike against the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company ended indecisively. The temper of labour-management relations is more tense than in many a year.

The unemployed, though whittled down somewhat, are clearly breathing down the necks of those still working. In the 267 depressed areas, where there is more than 6 per cent unemployed, it is relatively simple for employers to recruit replacements for those on strike.

Under such circumstances management has mounted a counter-offensive against labour. The men of big business are using a three-pronged approach. In addition to resisting strikes and union demands, they are saturating the nation with propaganda against "inflation" and have mounted a campaign for "labour-reform."

INFLATION

Heaven only knows the unions need some revitalising force to bring back a sense of evangelism. But the labour-reform bill, now pending in Congress, would—in the words of John L. Lewis—merely weld a "chastity belt around the body of labour" and reduce its striking power further, without improving the ethics of the movement.

The cry of inflation is similarly a fig-leaf for other objectives. Actually the nation is holding the price line steadily. Prices have hardly risen in more than a year, and if there is any danger of inflation it is only from the swollen profits of industry and the heavy military spending. From 1952 to 1958 the labour costs involved in each dollar of steel sales remained approximately the same. But profits more than doubled—from \$144 to \$302 million. And 1958, it must be remembered, was a recession year.

In a nation as military-minded as ours few people want to face up to the costs of

Is 10 minutes enough for everything else?

The balance of terror will still not be restored when—assuming that it ever happens—the missile gap is closed. For the speed of ballistic missiles gives the aggressor an almost absolute advantage over any enemy. The enemy may have the MEANS of retaliation, but he has practically no TIME in which to decide to retaliate. He may have superb devices for detecting, at the earliest possible moment, that destruction is soaring toward him. His decision, once he has made it, may be communicated at the speed of light, which is still faster than that of any man-made object. But something has to happen between the moment of detection and the moment of response—and that something is quite a lot, and it has to happen in human minds.

The procedure by which a decision to retaliate would be made is perhaps the most closely guarded of our military secrets. We know, though, that under the Atomic Energy Act the President is the only person who can authorise the use of nuclear or thermo-nuclear weapons, so, presumably the President must be found, given the facts, and given time to make his grave decision. And even before this there has to be some evaluation of the data about the attack. Is the radar working properly? Could it possibly be a flock of geese showing up as missiles? (Geese have been mistaken for weapons on radar.) All ambiguities, presumably, must be filtered out. And then there are the unknown terms of our agreements with our allies. It may be necessary to get in touch with Downing Street or Bonn or the Elysée or Mecca. After evaluation and consultation must come the decision and the communication of it down the chain of command. No doubt the deciding and the communicating can be done in minutes, even seconds.

But after all this comes the countdown, which must be gone through as long as all our rockets are fuelled with liquid oxygen—a substance that cannot be stored as gasoline is stored in a car. The minimum time for this is about twenty minutes. It is estimated that the maximum elapsed time between the detection of the launching of ICBMs aimed at us and their impact on their targets would be thirty minutes. That leaves ten minutes for everything else.—Richard H. Rovere in The New Yorker, February 14, 1959.

"preparedness." Yet the major inflationary cycles in American history are associated with its wars—the Spanish-American War I, War II, Korea—and the fact that governments have found it unpopular to tax the nation fully to pay these costs. Thus America, like most Western powers, has more dollars in circulation chasing less consumer goods and pushing prices upwards.

The inflation charge is pure fantasy, but it undoubtedly has caught on with a good section of the public. That public is oblivious to the counter-charges that big industry has been administering prices. It also disregards the fact that there have been only 11 wage increases since the war but 23 price boosts. The three-pronged offensive against the unions has been quite successful to achieve such results.

Thus the 1957-58 recession comes to an end much like most other downturns. The big corporations have consolidated their positions—not only *vis-a-vis* the smaller entrepreneurs, many of whom they have swallowed up in the interim, or driven to the wall—but against the labour movement as well. The rich have grown richer, the poor weaker.

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DIARY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Racial reconciliation

THE aims of the pacifist movement are so long-term that it is always in danger of accepting its own impotence and even of deprecating the efforts of allied movements which aim at quick success. Some of your correspondents probably have such dangers in mind when they advocate wholehearted pacifist support of the nuclear disarmament campaign.

But there is at least one cause which pacifists could assist more effectively, since it lends itself to the use of non-violence, and which involves no compromises and no irrelevance—the cause of racial reconciliation in our own country, underlined once more by the sickening murder of the young Antiguan, Kelso Cochrane.

Would it not be possible for pacifists in the London area to begin a direct action campaign which has as its object the reduction of racial tension? This is a specifically pacifist cause, and it is to be expected that its supporters would learn more through their work for it about the practice of non-violence than they would from 100 Aldermaston marches.—HOWARD HORSBURGH, 11 College Terrace, Londonderry, Northern Ireland.

Smallholder's reply to Tolstoi'

WITH regard to the final paragraph of Mr. Arthur Hopkins' letter (PN, May 22), it would be interesting to hear from him, and perhaps from other readers, what he does feel is "basic to the removal of war."

The point about small-holders, spinners and so on, in my view, is not that 50,000 other people should do likewise, but that the people who are doing it have done so from personal choice because it is to them a satisfying and useful way of life. The 50,000, or even 50,000,000, must find their own way to salvation, or else find themselves led by the nose somewhere else.

It is, however, true that certain conditions are more likely to lead to salvation than others, and the creation of these conditions should surely be encouraged by would-be peace-makers. As Mr. Ernest Bader, founder of the Scott Bader Commonwealth, has said, there must be not only a change of heart but a change in "objective arrangements and institutions." In fact, a change of heart in itself, deprived of an appropriate means of expression, is only an additional frustration to the individual concerned and few people will sustain it for very long.

Assuming that our present institutions are not on the whole conducive to peace, then it seems to me that any constructive attempt to replace them, and particularly to replace the motive of material gain as the only incentive to work, is a valuable service to peace. Basic to the removal of war, I would say, is the removal of false values in all fields of human activity. Here is work for all, and epoch-making work at that. Why does not the PPU begin to chisel out a concrete policy for peace, instead of wasting its substance on verbal controversy.—MARGARET TIMS, 18 Belsize Avenue, London, N.W.3.

Youth Lobby

YOU no doubt know that the April 18 Youth March in Washington was a great success. Over 27,000 Negro and white young people gathered in the nation's capital in the largest youth demonstration in the nation's history.

The White House received a delegation and the President went further than he has ever gone before, when he promised that he would not rest so long as vestiges of segregation exist. Four hundred thousand signatures urging speedy and orderly integration of schools were collected and delivered to Congress.

The 27,000 youth voted to return home and press for the passage of the Douglas Civil Rights Bill. Plans are now under way to set up a Youth Lobby in Washington to help achieve this end. Certainly the brutal lynching of 23-year-old Parker in Mississippi reveals how important the passage of the Douglas Bill is. And beyond this it indicates how right and significant it is to give young Americans the means to speak

clearly to the Government on great social issues of our time.

However, unless we can raise \$6,000 quickly we cannot proceed with the Youth Lobby. Will your American readers help? Contributions—no matter how small—should be sent as soon as possible to the address below. This is an important opportunity to make a significant contribution to the struggle for civil rights.—BAYARD RUSTIN, Co-ordinator, Youth March for Integrated Schools, 312 West 125th Street, New York 27, NY, USA.

* War Challenges Christians *

MAY I commend you on your issue devoted to the challenge of war to the Christian? Richard Ullmann's article in particular is a most heartening one, and those of us who have followed with interest the initiative taken by Dr. Hromodka and our Czech brothers in Christ will be glad to know that the work will continue.

Wallace Hancock's article, too, I read with interest and great sympathy. Even so, I would suggest that he is somewhat unfair to both the clergy and theology. I am always unhappy at the suggestion that the clerics are to blame for the failure of the Church to be pacifist. I think we should remember that they, too, are men, beset with the same weaknesses as ourselves, and it is no more damnable for a minister to err in regard to the truth than it is for a layman—especially if you hold to the doctrine of the ministry of all believers, which both Wallace Hancock and I do. Furthermore, I think in fairness we should recognise that, in proportion to their numbers, the ministers are more progressive and pacifist than the laity: no less than one in six Methodist ministers is a member of the Methodist Peace Fellowship—I wish it were one in sixty of the laymen.

And as to theology and doctrine, it is not these which make ministers (or laymen) non-pacifist. It is false theology and bad doctrine. What we want is not less theology, but more and better theology—i.e., not less study of God, but more and better study of God.—FRED S. MOORHOUSE, 121 Aslett Street, London, S.W.18.

Nuclear disarmament and PPU

UNLIKE some of your correspondents I will willingly concede that these two stalwarts, Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris, do in actual fact speak for the majority of the Peace Pledge Union, and therein of course lies the tragedy. It is a tragedy because the PPU as a movement is dead. Those who still cling to it cling to it because it demands nothing from them. If it demanded action, thought, or anything else, it would be too much for most of its moribund supporters.

Sybil Morrison in her latest letter says she "must continue to concentrate on persuading people to commit themselves to refuse to support or sanction war." With what result, may I ask?

Even if all the PPU activity in 1958 was due to Sybil Morrison all she could lay claim to would be: 192 new members and the distribution of 101,113 leaflets. Does Sybil Morrison really believe that this kind of activity and progress is sufficient to outlaw war and save the human race from disaster in, say, 1960, 1961 or even 1970?

By way of contrast the progress of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is really staggering. In twelve months' time in Huddersfield we have enrolled the best part of 150 supporters, distributed the best part of 50,000 leaflets, and raised over £170. And I am sure that Sybil Morrison will be delighted to know that the majority of our supporters are pacifist in everything but name.

What about the PPU in Huddersfield? In twenty years we have never had anything approaching 150 members. The last 1,000 leaflets obtained from headquarters are still lying in an old cupboard, if in the mean time they haven't been destroyed. As for finance—year after year we jog happily along on a budget of £5.

I am sorry to have to say it, but the fact of the matter is that even PPU National AGMs, Resolutions, Area Representatives, Group Meetings still only add up to nothing.—EDWARD BRAY, 20 Westfield Avenue, Oakes, Huddersfield.

PEACE NEWS, June 5, 1959—7

CLASSIFIED

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MEETINGS

"**QUAKERISM—a Faith for the Ordinary Man**"—R. Duncan Fairn. Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. Sunday, June 7, at 6.30 p.m.

WORLD WITHOUT WAR. Open Conference called by Teachers for Peace. Speaker: Prof. J. D. Bernal, F.R.S. Sat., June 13, 3-6 p.m. Royal Society Hall, 90 Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W.1. Fee 2s. 6d. Tickets from Miss M. Philbert, Sec. Teachers for Peace, 3 Essex Grove, S.E.19, or at door.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY IV. Telkea Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., London, N.5.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

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AT BROOK LINN Vegetarian Guest House, Callander, Perthshire, there is comfort, excellent food, good company, invigorating air and lovely mountain scenery. Brochure on request. Mrs. Muriel Choffin, Callander 103.

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PEACE NEWS READERS always welcome Gt. Frenches Park, Crawley Down, Sussex. Comfortable accommodation, families welcome, attractive grounds. (S.R. Three Bridges). Write Rev. Arthur Peacock.

PERSONAL

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IF SUFFERERS FROM RHEUMATISM, arthritis fibrosis or any muscular pains will send S.A.E. (2d.) to J. Brocklesby, 32b Burgate, Barton-on-Humber, Lincs., they will receive the formula of a well-tried and proved healing herbal lotion; ingredients from any chemist. (Non-profit making concern.)

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT NEWSREEL COMMITTEE urgently appeals for donations to raise £100 to complete film of Aldermaston 1959 and fund for filming other projects. All monies acknowledged and balance sheet sent to donors of over 10s. Hon. Sec., Eric Walker, 154 Corbyn St., N.4.

SPARSLY or unfurnished light room wanted suitable studio. Phone STA 2262 office hours. Evenings and week-ends Potters Bar 6332.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

WORLD FRIENDSHIP BUREAU strengthens international understanding. Pen friendships. S.A.E. please, Room 19, 80/86 St. Johns Rd., London, S.W.11.

LITERATURE

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vibrant, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.I., and 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leics.

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PEACE POSTCARDS. "Two Mules" and Gandhi quotations, each 9d. doz. (postage 2d.). Housmans, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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VOLUNTARY HELPERS with decorating, handyman or electrical experience urgently needed to help with preparation of new Peace News premises. Work parties every weekend—weekday help welcomed too. Please phone or write the Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

MABEL EYLES

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A pity they suspected the pacifists

By JOHN BARCLAY

The writer was the Peace Pledge Union's Group Organiser in the early years of World War II. He is now secretary of International Help for Children.

DICK SHEPPARD spoke many wise words, and I often think that the most penetrating were contained in the advice he once gave the young pacifists: "If your message is unusual and unconventional see that your appearance is normal!" In other words refrain from long hair and unsuitable clothes. When war came his advice was not always followed. So it was that when excuses had to be found for defeats or when fear of invasion spread it was often the pacifist who was blamed and in time became associated with a mysterious "German Fifth Column."

The BBC feature of that name broadcast on May 20 in the Home Service gave a clear picture of this mythical army and showed how baseless were the charges made—and yet how natural it was that people should believe as they did.

During 1940-41, when the fear of invasion was widespread, how difficult it was to discount the stories of parachutists dressed as nuns, or children poisoned by sweets distributed by unseen aliens. The madness reached its crisis when signposts were deliberately set to point the wrong way and station names defaced or entirely painted out in order to mislead the invaders. In the end this organised confusion led to self-destruction and chaos.

That the pacifist should be suspected was inevitable; he shared with pioneers of all lost causes the same isolation.

But what of the future? Where is this fear of the unknown enemy leading us? It seems that the greatest contribution that we can make to the present uncertain and fearful situation is to identify ourselves with the ordinary people who want peace and fear war. They are a vast majority and claim no distinction. There never was a fifth column, but there could be a united world.

THIS question belongs to the same category as "surely you would defend yourself if attacked?" in its absence of any logical consideration of the difference between personal relationships and national situations, and in its implication that to be a pacifist means to be a kind of desiccated saint.

Naturally pacifists do not automatically agree upon all subjects, and even perhaps on the meaning of the word "pacifism," which they did not choose, and is difficult to define. Nevertheless, where there are disagreements they grant the right of conscience, and full freedom to express the difference. There is, in fact, no comparison at all with armed nations, who negotiate with each other against a background of armaments, and the threat of ultimate armed conflict if agreement cannot be reached.

The very fact that pacifists are ordinary people of different ages, with different tastes and different environments, different philosophies and different religious ideas, makes it quite impossible that they should be in complete agreement with each other, even if it were desirable, on all the various aspects of, and experiments in, the pursuit of peace.

PROTEST PROGRAMME AGAINST YORKS ROCKET BASES

FROM FRANCIS DEUTSCH

Chairman, Yorkshire Rocket Sites Protest Committee.

THERE are five ground to ground rocket bases in Eastern Yorkshire and we are trying to organise what is possibly the most comprehensive protest programme yet planned. The committee is technically a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament one, but this means little; we have Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Labour Party members as well as Direct Action Committee contacts.

We all live in Yorkshire but we are not parochial; we act because we are on the spot and we feel we act for people all over the country. The Press has already published news about our picket—news value lasts one day, but two or three people keep pegging away daily at the gates.

To-night (June 5) Dr. John Rex and the Rev. Michael Scott will be speaking at Selby—the only town of any size near a base. There is no PPU, CND, FoR or other group there to-day, to-morrow there will be a group of some kind.

To-morrow also sees the start of the village's campaign about which Frank Heny* wrote to Peace News last week. It is not a newsworthy activity but recruiting, explaining, gaining signatures for a petition in what is virtually virgin campaigning territory. May I underline his appeal for people with a few days or weeks to spare to come and support this important venture?

Leaflet distribution

Our leaflet "There is a rocket site on your doorstep" will receive mass distribution during this month. In Hull alone 75,000 will be distributed. All Selby has been leafleted once, and every house will be leafleted again.

During June and July two full-time workers will be visiting trade union branches and shop stewards at the sites and in their homes. Later during the summer,

Dortmund protest walk

HERBERT COMPTON, the 22-year-old Australian who is walking from London to the British rocket base at Dortmund in Germany, where he hopes to non-violently obstruct one of the entrances to the base, has arrived in Germany. The last news that was received about him said that he hoped to arrive in Dortmund on Saturday, May 30, and hoped to go to the base on the next day.

A vigil outside the German Embassy was organised by the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War on Saturday last in support of Herbert Compton. About 40 people took part in the vigil which concluded with a poster parade from the German Embassy to Piccadilly Circus.

one—or several simultaneous—rallies for trade unionists will be organised.

In August, having thus drawn attention to the menace, which is a local as well as a national problem, there will be a series of local rallies and special events are planned for Battle of Britain week and National Nuclear Disarmament week which is to be the climax of this phase of the campaign in Yorkshire.

May I again echo Frank Heny in his request for physical and financial support?

One date I have left to the last, and that is July 4 and 5. A vigil, a rally, and a march from Brighton base, near Bubwith, to Selby will take place. This is going to

be a national event; A. J. P. Taylor, Mervyn Jones, John Rex and Sir Herbert Read will speak. CND will, we expect, give national publicity; and we want to make a real attempt to break through the security curtain which prevents the bases being named, or our protest being reported except locally. To do this we need not thousands but tens of thousands for the march. The vigil will start at 7 a.m. on Saturday and end Sunday lunch time.

The march starts at 12.30 and the meeting ends at 6.30. May I end with a really pressing appeal to all your readers to ask their PPU, CND, FoR or "peace" group to get at least one coach load to come with banners. On receipt of a postcard we will send publicity materials and travelling instructions. If you live far, come for the march—if you live near, come and vigil for as long as possible. Whether still in the pram or with one foot in the grave, there is a place for you at Brighton on July 5.

*Frank Heny can be contacted at 261 Woodlea Grove, Leeds 11.

ST. FAITH'S CARRIES ON BUT PATRICK MATIMBA IS STILL A PRISONER

From Peter Kuenstler

AT midnight on May 20-21, the State of Emergency came to an end in Southern Rhodesia. The Government announced that there were still 100 detainees being kept in prison under the terms of the recently passed Preventive Detention Act. Among them is Patrick Matimba, who, until shortly before his arrest, was working at St. Faith's Mission Farm. He had moved to Salisbury with his Dutch wife and their child and had started up a small printing business there.

It now looks as if he may be in detention for some time, and presumably he will have the right to appear before the Review Tribunal as laid down by the Act. Meanwhile, his wife is paid an allowance by the Government as are the families of other Southern Rhodesian detainees.

Of the others from St. Faith's who were detained, three school-teachers were released after about a month's detention, and John Mutasa, the farm manager, who had been moved several hundred miles from his home to prison in Bulawayo, spent two months there before he was released on May 1. He is now back at St. Faith's busily at work since this venture in real racial partnership seems to be all the more important after recent events.

There is no doubt that the farm received a great shock, but it is good to report

that all the people rallied under Isaac Tsungu, the Assistant Manager, and have been determined to carry on. It so happened that Ralph Abbott, the Bursar and Head of the Building Section, was on leave with his family in England, but he has now returned and will arrive in mid-June. Meanwhile, Patricia Chater and Sheila Graham have been carrying on.

Guy Clutton-Brock, who had decided to hand over his work at St. Faith's shortly before the emergency was declared, is still in Southern Rhodesia. He is living quietly on a farm near Salisbury so that he can complete some writing he has undertaken, and Molly, his wife, who started the Clinic at St. Faith's, can rest in order to convalesce fully from her recent illness.

John Mutseriwa, the Deputy Headmaster of the Primary School at St. Faith's, is in Britain. He is acting as a supply teacher in Bristol and will be taking a course at the Institute of Education there in the next academic year. It seems possible that if he had been in Rhodesia when the emergency was declared he would have been arrested like some of his colleagues, but it is to be hoped that when the times comes for his return in the summer of 1966, a happier and more peaceful state of affairs will prevail in Southern Rhodesia.

induce, or try to force, a Government committed to militarism to be militarily weak.

Clearly this would be quite unwarrantable; pacifists are prepared personally to be unilaterally disarmed, and therefore undefended, but the majority of people have by no means committed themselves to that stand, and expect their Government to defend them against such a tyranny as Hitler's.

It was too late in 1939 to alter the inevitable, inexorable destiny to which the reliance upon war had brought the European Powers. The world now is faced with a hideous dilemma, which is the direct outcome of the inability of Governments committed to the ultimate use of force to agree to disagree. Only the inescapable fact that a major war would destroy the human race, Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries, Monarchs and the common man and woman alike, that holds the precarious balance between concurrence and catastrophe.

Pacifists have no difference of opinion in their total rejection of this policy; War, We Say No is still their basic point of agreement, and the abolition of war a united aim.

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NO DESICCATED SAINT!

If pacifists cannot agree among themselves how can they expect nations to negotiate agreements?—Question overheard any day in any year.

By Sybil Morrison

There may be, and indeed it is desirable that there should be, a variety of different points of view on issues of procedure, propaganda, or policy, but one thing stands as steady and clear as a fixed and shining star: that is the pacifist's total rejection of war, and positive adoption of right human values as a basis for peaceful living.

The analogies so often drawn between personal situations or personal reactions and national situations are almost always false and quite untenable. Where a human person is confronted with an incident that arouses anger or indignation there may be an instinctive and perhaps momentarily uncontrollable reaction, but this, even though mistaken and wrong, bears no comparison at all with the indoctrinated anger which does not lead to war, but which is a necessary part of a Government's means of preparing its nationals to take part in war.

The frustration that arises from thwarted

efforts to affect Governments and counter their propaganda is, after all, natural to all progressive minority movements, but the great difference in the pacifist movement is the knowledge that Governments will only eventually be affected when sufficient people have accepted the difficult philosophy of pacifism and committed themselves to it

The misunderstandings of the word itself have continually to be refuted and explained; it is, in fact, extraordinary that the myth of British disarmament between the wars still receives such universal belief. It is still asserted, by what seems to be a majority, that it was due to pacifists that Britain perilously reduced her armaments so that Hitler thought he could do what he liked.

Apart from it being highly questionable that there was any real or drastic reduction, it has never been a pacifist aim to